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AUTO DE FÉ AND JEW.

I.

MATERIALS FOR THE HISTORY OF THE JEWS IN
SPAIN AFTER THE EXPULSION.

THE year 1882, which witnessed an exodus *en masse* of Jewish refugees from Russia—an exodus which found their brethren totally unprepared for their reception—was brightened by one remarkable gleam of national justice which does not merit the oblivion into which it seems to have fallen.

Spain, once cruel and persecuting, opened her doors to the fugitives. Her hidalgos eagerly invited them to Madrid, and her great ladies were so impatient to receive them that batches of Russian Jews, totally unfit for the experiment, were dumped into Madrid by the organizing committees in Germany. The distinguished visitors were treated as the pampered pets of the proudest palaces, and fêted till they lost what slight desire for new work they had brought with them. The experiment as such was a disastrous, an ominous, failure. The disappointment was perhaps more keenly felt by the Spaniards than ourselves. But the incident is notable in history as manifesting something more than a sentimental wish to repair a great historical wrong. The nineteenth century, though it left Spain poorer in territory, marks an epoch more honourable and more promising than the century which added a New World to her dominions.

The Inquisition is not Spanish. As a clerical tribunal the Holy Office existed hundreds of years before the *Reyes*

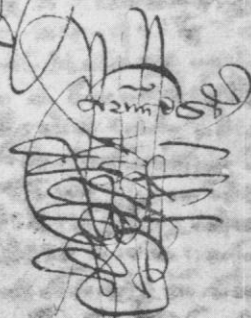
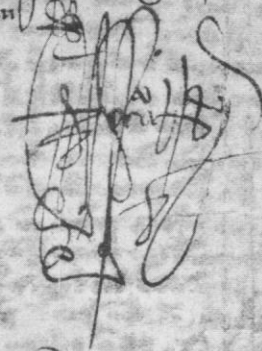
Católicos, and indeed in a much mitigated form it still exists. It is the Inquisition at Rome which to this very day exorcises nascent literature and swells there with the Index Expurgatorius. Nor were its pains and penalties less terrible in the ancient pre-expulsion times. At one of the earliest Autos de Fé recorded in this paper, that at Troyes in 1288, thirteen Jews were burnt at the stake as heretics. And it will be seen that in Spain itself similar executions were perpetrated in the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth centuries in the sacred name of Christianity. But the general notion of what "Inquisition" means practically confines it to the merciless tribunal constituted under Ferdinand and Isabella with the grudging assent of the Pope. It was a political rather than a religious institution. Once established in the Peninsula it remained practically independent of Rome and derived its authority from the catholic king.

Ferdinand himself, though he swept the Peninsula of the Moors and banished the Jews, was by no means the deeply religious sovereign whom history loves to depict. But little was wanting and he would have established a church of his own, as Henry the Eighth did here in England. Don Adolpho de Castro in his *History of the Jews in Spain* quotes a letter from Ferdinand to Count Oribargaza, his viceroy in Naples, dated Burgos the 22nd of May, 1508, in which the king declares his "positive determination, should His Holiness refuse to revoke the breach as well as the acts performed by his authority, to deprive him of the obedience now paid him by the realms of Castile and Arragon." The same author quotes Machiavelli's view (*The Prince*, cap. 21) that "the king with a view of attempting still greater undertakings artfully concealed his design under the mask of religion, and by means of a cruel piety drove the Marranos¹ out of his dominions, a stroke of policy truly deplorable and unexampled."

¹ "Marrani." By a curious slip De Castro's translator, Mr. Kirwan, translates Marrani as Moors.

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This is not the place to investigate all the motives that prompted Ferdinand and Isabella to issue their famous decrees for the expulsion of the Jews and the establishment of the Inquisition. These measures presented two sides of the same policy. Spain was to be purged of all Jews, whether professing or not. Those who were ostensibly Jews were caught by the decree for their expulsion, and those who outwardly conformed to Christianity, the new Christians, or Marranos, were caught in the net of the Inquisition, and the heavy cost of the king's conquests was met both by the direct confiscation of the Jews' property, which they were forced to leave behind, and by the king's "third" of all property confiscated by the Inquisition. An autograph grant of such a third in favour of a famous monastery in Cordova is reproduced in facsimile at the head of this article.

It will be seen that the Marranos were not the only Jewish victims who fell into the clutches of the Inquisition. Secret tribunal though it was, it periodically published reports of the result of its investigations and deliberations. This resultant was its sentence, its action, its act of faith¹. Whenever an "auto de fé" was held, a *Relacion*² or Report was circulated, sometimes by way of programme before the celebration, but invariably afterwards. Generally it was printed, and sometimes printed in several editions and in different places. The object of such a *Relacion* was two-fold—external and internal. Its external object was to benefit the public, as being calculated to promote religious conformity, and perhaps also by way of pandering to the sensational appetites of the thousands who had witnessed, and the tens of thousands who would have liked to witness, the solemn and exciting "act of faith." But it had also an

¹ It is usual to write "auto da fé," the Portuguese form. The Spaniards, however, always say "auto de fé," or "auto de fee."

² Portuguese "Relação," a term likewise applied to similar accounts of a Bull Fight, e. g. "Relação nova e verdadeira noticia das magnificas festas de Touros . . . Lisboa, 1763."

internal object, calculated for the better ordering of the process of the Ecclesiastic Courts. There were at first five, but afterwards fifteen, tribunals of the Inquisition in Spain alone, and it was the duty of each to communicate its sentences to the central organization as well as to other tribunals within whose purview it was likely that its own prisoners might come after they had served their term of punishment. The Inquisition did not always hand over its victims to the secular arm, but it had no mercy for the "relapsed" who, having been "reconciled" or "penitenced," were afterwards caught judaizing again. The nets of the Inquisition were cunningly devised and its meshes exceedingly small. Thus in the trial of Gabriel de Granada the sentence, probably in common form, directed as follows: "In order that in case of contravention the said Gabriel de Granada may be proceeded against as an 'impenitente' a relation of this his sentence and condemnation shall be sent with his description and age to the Most Illustrious and Most Reverend Lord Inquisitor-General, and Lords of the Council of His Majesty of the Holy and General Inquisition, and to the Tribunals of the said Inquisition of Seville, and of the Cities of Lima and Carthagena in these said West Indies¹."

Towards the end of the eighteenth century, when the ideas of Rousseau and Voltaire as to the Rights of Man began to percolate to the very extremities of Europe, the authorities of the Inquisition became more chary of publicity because fearful of criticism. A writer even in the nineteenth century remarks on the absence of data and particulars about the "auto de fé" as due to people avoiding the subject for fear of excommunication². There is accordingly

¹ Vide Fergusson, *Am. Jew. Hist. Soc.*, VII, 127. Similarly Jacobs quotes from a MS., "On January 11, 1721, Toledo sends to Saragossa the testifications of same witnesses."

² *Jud. Sev.*, p. 56, "en casi todas las historias sevillanas han omitido sus autores dar noticia de ellos (los autos publicos), sin duda temerosos de alguna excomunion mayor."

a quite astonishing dearth of material and statistics of the doings of the Holy Office. Many of the documents have been burnt by friends and enemies¹ of the Inquisition alike, much still remains buried in the inaccessible vaults of archiepiscopal and other libraries. A recent enactment, however, in quite a modern spirit, directs that all the cartularies and deeds belonging to the monasteries of Spain shall be handed over to the Royal Academy of History in Madrid, so that the way is no longer quite barred to what Joseph Jacobs calls "one of the great desiderata of Jewish Literature—an adequate history of the Marranos or secret Jews of the Peninsula."

The historian is too apt to assume that Ferdinand's anti-semitic policy was induced by the conduct of the Jews and Marranos themselves. This is an assumption which the apologists of the Inquisition are only too glad to encourage. Even Abrahams, in his *Jewish Life in the Middle Ages*, says that the Marranos as "half-hearted converts . . . proved a fertile danger to the Jews. Their constant relapses into Judaism strengthened the arm of the Inquisition and finally led to the expulsion of the Jews from Spain." Such a view appears to fail in perspective. The Marranos of 1391 and 1413 may have been the Inquisitor's excuse, but they were not in any sense the cause of the expulsion. The expulsion did not affect them, the Inquisition did. Again, it is a common belief that the Marranos were gradually and soon exterminated by the Holy Office, after which it was held to justify its survival by the war it waged against the Lutherans afterwards, and then by that against the Philosophers and Freemasons. As a matter of fact, Judaizers continued to be the Inquisitor's prey as long as the Spanish Inquisition lasted, and indeed, as will be seen, the number of Jewish victims in the beginning of the eighteenth century was wellnigh as great as in the end of the fifteenth. Mr. F. D. Mocatta, in his *Jews and the*

¹ e. g. Llorente.

Inquisition, an admirable sketch of the subject, repeats the common error that the last occasion on which a human being was "burnt alive in the name of the faith" was at Seville in 1781; but it will be seen that so late as August 1, 1826, at Valencia a Judaizer was burnt alive and a Protestant schoolmaster garrotted.

Nearly a month's stay in the south of Spain during the autumn of 1900 gave me an opportunity to search for Hebraica and Judaica. The former quest proved very barren and produced little to add to Neubauer's previous discoveries¹. But my hunt for historical material led to results the more welcome that they were so unexpected after the exhaustive investigations of Kayserling and Jacobs in the same field. In the first place it disclosed a quite remarkable local interest in matters relating to Spanish Jews. A glance at the two bibliographies in the supplement will satisfy anybody that the Jews are nowadays exciting much attention in the Peninsula. The large production of books about them is evidence of a corresponding demand on the part of the public². Again, there are original documents of the greatest interest and importance still to be acquired at reasonable prices in Granada, and especially in Seville³. The secularization of the monasteries has thrown a quantity of archives into private hands. One of these is reproduced here in facsimile. It is an autograph grant dated August 31, 1485, by Ferdinand and Isabella, signed "Yo el Rey" (I the King) and "Yo la Reyna" (I the Queen), and deals with the confiscated

¹ A brief summary as to new Hebrew MSS. and Inscriptions is appended to this article.

² That this interest in Jewish matters is still alive is evidenced by the following extract from a Madrid publisher's catalogue dated March, 1901. "Ibn-Gebirol (Aven-Cebrol). La fuente de la vida : traducida en el siglo XII por Juan Hispano y Domingo González, del árabe al latín, y ahora por primera vez al castellano por Federico de Castro y Fernández. Tratado I y II. Madrid, Serra, 1901; en 8.º, 160 páginas é índice, 2 pts."

³ Among these documents we managed to secure four State Papers dealing with the Spanish Armada, and signed by Philip II.

property of Alphon de Baena or Baeza (?), who suffered the "pena de fuego" shortly after the establishment of the Inquisition. No doubt the victim was a Judaizer, and possibly a son or relative of a famous New Christian, Juan Alphon de Baena, a poet and anthologist who flourished in the middle of the fifteenth century. Then again, in Seville, lives Sr Dⁿ Francisco Palamares, doctor, schoolmaster, and Lutheran minister, who has a unique collection of documents, books, and curios dealing with the Inquisition, and who proved of the greatest service, both through direct suggestion and because his own treasures gave one a clue to others similarly useful and desirable. Señor Palamares is himself a characteristic son of the new Spain. He is a Protestant convert from Catholicism, and keeps a school of heretics, mostly Protestant, but with some thirty little Jewish children among its pupils.

The nineteenth century has indeed been fruitful in strife over the Spanish Church in general and the Inquisition in particular. Nor has it been only a Battle of the Books. The Peninsular War lasted from 1808 till 1814. The national constitution was promulgated at Cadiz in 1812, when the Inquisition was suppressed, though it was not till February 22, 1813, that the Córtes passed the formal law for its abolition. In 1814 the French were expelled and the War of Liberation ended in the restoration of Ferdinand VII. On July 21, 1814, His Catholic Majesty reinstates the Inquisition—a curious result of the success of the British arms¹! Another revolution ensued from 1820 to 1823, and on March 9, 1820, the Inquisition was abolished for the second time. On October 1, 1823,

¹ A historic parallel is provided by the activity of the Inquisition in France in 1430, after Agincourt. "L'inquisition en France favorisée par la domination anglaise" is the keynote of a paragraph on the "Procès de Jeanne d'Arc" in the third volume of the *Notice des Manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Nationale*. The Bishop of Beauvais is required "agir avec l'inquisiteur de la foi; et c'est ainsi que la France aurait gémi sous les loix monstreuuses de l'inquisition si elle était restée sous la domination anglaise."

a "contra revolucion" restored the king and re-established the Inquisition. Ferdinand died in 1833, and with him his reactionary rule; and on July 15, 1834, the Queen Regent Maria Cristina, in the name of her daughter Queen Isabella the Second, abolished the Inquisition in Spain for the third and last time.

Is it the last time? One would have thought so, and one can but hope so. But there are ominous signs of an unwelcome reaction. Spanish marriages are historic dangers, and the latest royal marriage in Spain is no exception to the rule. Its unpopularity in the cities of Spain seems due to a widespread fear of Jesuit supremacy. And two works¹ in defence of the Inquisition have appeared in the last quarter of a century, which certainly lend colour to such fears. The one is ostensibly by a Jesuit Father, the other is issued under ecclesiastical sanction. Both are intended for the "cristiano imparcial," and protest against the "lies," by which are meant "exaggerations," of Llorente and the other historians of the Inquisition.

Apart, therefore, from the historical parallels so unfortunately presented by the present state of Russia and Roumania, it cannot be deemed untimely or out of place if a first attempt be made to collect and tabulate from the various sources some facts about the doings of the Holy Office, and therefrom to draw some conclusions as to the history of the Jews in Spain after the expulsion. Such conclusions should be the more valuable that it is a current fallacy that Spain has for four centuries been swept clear of its Jews, whereas, what with those left behind and the many thousands repatriated, there always have been large numbers of them with synagogues, rituals, customs, and literature, their existence a secret indeed, but an open secret.

The following Table of "autos de fé" sets forth in the successive columns (i) the date and (ii) place of the auto, (iii) the source which is the authority for its inclusion in

¹ Vide Supplement, "Authorities," sub voce Rodrigo and Cappa.

the list, (iv) the number of "reos" prisoners or victims at such auto, (v) the number of Jews ("Judaizantes" or "Judios") thereat, and (vi) finally such few remarks or memoranda in connexion therewith as could be compressed into the space at disposal. These headings speak for themselves, but with regard to sources something more must be said. Primarily these consist of the original *Relacions*¹ published at the time or subsequently republished and extant in public libraries or in those of Señor Palamares or the writer. Such *Relacions* often contain references to previous "autos de fé," at which the prisoner, generally a relapsed Marrano, now handed over to the secular arm for execution, ("relaxado"), had been punished and given another chance. These references constitute another class of authority. Then come from Seville and Cordova two books containing collections of autos celebrated in those cities². Next come the historians of the Inquisition, generally cited under the authors' names, and herein, be it noted, the apologists of the Inquisition are, for obvious reasons, relied on rather than its enemies, so that e. g. Rodrigo is more often quoted than Llorente. Lastly, we have various authorities derived from the literature on the subject, a list which is appended as a supplement entitled "Authorities."

The Table is of course extremely, but perhaps not hopelessly, inadequate. It is intentionally limited to Spain, and even for Spain, no attempt has been made to make use of the immense material in the Archaeological Museum³ at Madrid. The collection there is concentrated, listed, and in course of publication. It deals mainly with the Tribunals of Toledo, Valencia, Rioja, and Logroño. The excellent organization at the Museum should make his

¹ Vide Appendix, "Authorities," sub voce "Auto de Fé."

² Vide Appendix, "Authorities," sub voce "Juderia de Sevilla," and "Coleccion de Autos de Fé, Cordova."

³ Vide Appendix, "Authorities," sub voce "Archivo Historico Nacional."

task easy who in future attempts to supplement our list from that source. Tribunals foreign to Spain are not dealt with here, nor even those of the Spanish Colonies. The short Table of foreign autos which follows the main Table may be of some use in lightening the task of a future investigator, but it merely includes odds and ends referred to in the "autos de fé" with which we are more immediately concerned. The fascinating subject of the Inquisition in South America has been sufficiently handled by J. T. Medina¹ in his various works, and seems otherwise a monopoly of the American Jewish Historical Society. So far as Portugal is concerned, a few hours' work in the Royal Library at Lisbon would enable a similar table to be drawn up which would be fairly complete. In the "Collection Moreira" in that library the custodians preserve with great reverence three stout folio volumes endorsed Lisboa, Evora, and Coimbra, and containing "Listas" of the prisoners at the "autos de fé" respectively celebrated in those the three seats of the Holy Office in Portugal. There are said to be three similar folios in the Library at Evora containing such "Listas," some written and some printed. That our Table is limited to "autos de fé" and not extended to all Inquisition trials is due to the limitations of space and time. Every auto is the expression of the result of many trials, numerous adjournments, and the depositions of countless witnesses. The trials were secret and squalid, the essence of the auto was its publicity and pomp. And the Auto as such is, like the Bull Fight, an essential characteristic for the "Cultur-Geschichte" of Spain.

¹ Vide Appendix, "Authorities," sub voce "Medina."

II.

TABLE OF AUTOS DE FÉ CELEBRATED IN SPAIN.

<i>Date.</i>	<i>Place.</i>	<i>Source.</i>	<i>No. of "reos" punished.</i>	<i>No. of Jews punished.</i>	<i>Remarks.</i>
Jan. 11, 1257	Barcelona	Anales de la Inquisicion	...	...	Sentence pronounced against the memory of Count Raimundo de Fortcalquiere y de Urgel as a "hereje relapso."
Nov. 2, 1269	Barcelona	Anales de la Inquisicion	...	...	Sentence against a Viscount and his daughter.
1301	Zaragoza	Rodrigo			
1304	Zaragoza	Rodrigo			
1356	Valencia	De Castro			
1356	Zaragoza	Rodrigo			
1357	Zaragoza	Rodrigo			
1360	Valencia	De Castro			
1391	Seville	Graetz	...	...	Martinez incited the mob to burn the Juderia and force the Jews to abjure their faith. Over 4,000 families became Marranos, and their example was followed in 70 communities, including Cordova, Toledo, and Burgos.
1478	...	...	...	...	Pope Sixtus IV issued a Bull empowering the Reyes Católicos to appoint Inquisitors on all heretics.
Jan. 6, 1481	Seville	Graetz, Eng. Edition, iv. 340	...	...	This Graetz calls the first "auto de fé" celebrated with a "solemn procession repeated for the following 300 years in Seville."
1482	...	...	...	...	Sixtus IV revoked his Bull but revoked the revocation next month.

<i>Date.</i>	<i>Place.</i>	<i>Source.</i>	<i>No. of "reos" punished.</i>	<i>No. of Jews punished.</i>	<i>Remarks.</i>
1483 Feb. 28, 1484 1484	Cordova Cordova Toledo	Col. Cord. Col. Cord. Jacobs	...	...	"Relacion de algunos Reconciliados por la Inq."
Aug. 8, 1494	Ciudad Real	Boletin xxii Rodrigo 189	...	...	42 Jews are burnt at this and the next autos. Among the victims are Four Belmontes, Fernando, Inez, Gonzales and his wife.
Mar. 16, 1485 May, 1485 ¹ Feb. 12, 1486	Ciudad Real Ciudad Real Toledo	Do. Rodrigo Rodrigo Rodrigo	740	740	All stated to be absolved and in liberty.
May 10, 1486	Toledo	Rodrigo			
June 16, 1486	Toledo	Rodrigo	25		
Aug. 16, 1486	Toledo	Rodrigo			
Aug. 17, 1486	Toledo	Rodrigo	2		
Dec. 10, 1486	Toledo	Rodrigo	900	900	"Reconciliados."
Jan. 15, 1487	Toledo	Rodrigo	700	700	
Mar. 15, 1487	Toledo	Rodrigo	1000	1000	
May 7, 1487	Toledo	Rodrigo	23	22	
May 9, 1487	Toledo	Rodrigo	8	...	8 burnt in effigy.
July 25, 1487	Toledo	Rodrigo	37	...	17 of these were women.
July 26, 1487	Toledo	Rodrigo	6	...	6 "herejes obstinados."
July 27, 1487	Toledo	Rodrigo			
May 24, 1488	Toledo	Rodrigo	...	421	21 Jews burnt alive, 400 others were punished.
1488 July 30, 1488	Valladolid Toledo	Rel. Adler Rodrigo	...	...	16 Jews burnt alive.
Feb. 3, 1489	Toledo	Rodrigo	1	...	At this and the next auto 105 victims were punished.
Feb. 22, 1489	Toledo	Rodrigo			
Mar. 30, 1489	Toledo	Rodrigo			
1491	Avila	Rodrigo			
1498-9	Toledo	Jacobs			
1499	Cordova	Col. Cord.			
Feb. 22, 1501	Toledo	Rodrigo			
?	Toledo	De Castro Jacobs			

¹ Between 1485 and 1487 3,340 apostates are stated to have been publicly "reconciled," and many more in secret, and 250 were "relaxed" and handed over to the secular arm (? killed).

<i>Date.</i>	<i>Place.</i>	<i>Source.</i>	<i>No. of "reos" punished.</i>	<i>No. of Jews punished.</i>	<i>Remarks.</i>
Nov. 1506	Barcelona	Rodrigo			A Jewish Surgeon "que hacia de Gabino" and 2 others burnt, 5 Mahometans, 1 Lutheran, and 2 blasphemers, one of whom was a "falsificador de documentos referentes al Santo Oficio."
1507	Las Palmas	Rodrigo	2	1	
1507	Logrono	Rodrigo			
1510	Las Palmas	Rodrigo	4	3	
1514	Toledo	Jacobs			
Feb. 24, 1526	Las Palmas	Rodrigo	15	5	
1527	Logrono	Rodrigo			
1528	Granada	Rodrigo			
1529	Avila	Rodrigo			
1530	Las Palmas	Rodrigo			
Mar. 6, 1531	Avila	Rodrigo			"Se ignoran sus circunstancias."
Mar. 6, 1531	Cuenca	Rel. Adler			
May 23, 1534	Las Palmas	Rodrigo			
1534	Seville	Jud. Sev.			
April 26, 1536	Seville	Rodrigo			
1536	Cordova	Col. Cord. Cappa			
1536	Zaragoza	Rel. Adler			
1537	Seville	Jud. Sev.			
1541	Seville	Jud. Sev.	...		
May 3, 1546	Cordova	Rel. Adler			A "Luterana" amongst the victims.
1549	Seville	Jud. Sev.			
1550	Seville	Rodrigo			
1552	Seville	Jud. Sev.			
1554	Seville	Jud. Sev.			
1556	Seville	Jud. Sev.	...	...
June 7, 1557	Murcia	Rodrigo			
Sept. 24, 1557	Seville	Rodrigo			
1557	Las Palmas	Rodrigo			
1557	Valladolid	Rodrigo and Montan			
1558	Valladolid	Rel. B.M. (Bologna)			Nicholas Burton burnt. 2 Jews burnt, 3 Lutherans, "y algunos otros apostatos" garrotted.
1558	Seville	Montan	...	...
May 21, 1559	Valladolid	Rodrigo	...	...

<i>Date.</i>	<i>Place.</i>	<i>Source.</i>	<i>No. of "reos" punished.</i>	<i>No. of Jews punished.</i>	<i>Remarks.</i>
Sept. 24, 1559	Seville	Geddes, Mix. Tracts, 1702 p. 466 (1714, vol. i), Rodrigo			
Oct. 8, 1559	Valladolid	Rodrigo			
? 1559	Valladolid	Jud. Sev.			
June, 1560	Seville	Rodrigo			
Dec. 22, 1560	Seville	Jud. Sev.	...	...	6 men and 9 women burnt, 1 Jew died suddenly.
1560	Murcia	Rodrigo			
1560	Cordova	Col. Cord.			
Mar. 15, 1562	Murcia	Rodrigo	...	...	One of the victims was a "Rabbino de una sinagoga."
Mar. 20, 1562	Murcia	Rodrigo	32	16	16 Jews, 11 Lutherans, and 5 Mahometans.
April 26, 1562	Seville	Jud. Sev.	...	...	21 Lutherans among the victims.
1563	Seville	Montan			
May 20, 1563	Murcia	Rodrigo			
July 25, 1563	Seville	Jud. Sev.	46	...	6 victims burnt at the stake.
Dec. 9, 1563	Murcia	Rodrigo			
April, 1564	Seville	Jud. Sev.	41	...	6 burnt.
1564	Murcia	Rodrigo			
1565	Seville	Rodrigo			
Feb. 9, 1566	Murcia	Rodrigo			
Sept. 8, 1566	Seville	Jud. Sev.	56	...	6 burnt, of whom 5 were Lutherans and 1 a Dominican Friar.
? 1566	Seville	Jud. Sev.			
June 7, 1567	Murcia	Rodrigo			
May 8, 1569	Seville	Jud. Sev.			
Oct. 4, 1569	Valladolid	Rodrigo			
Nov. 6, 1569	Las Palmas	Rodrigo	...	...	19 Calvinists punished at an auto necessitated, as Rodrigo says, by the fact that 12 years without "autos de fé" had stimulated many new Christians "para incurrir en sus prácticas Mahometanos ó Judíos."
Nov. 6, 1570	Seville	Jud. Sev.			

<i>Date.</i>	<i>Place.</i>	<i>Source.</i>	<i>No. of "reos" punished.</i>	<i>No. of Jews punished.</i>	<i>Remarks.</i>
Jan. 24, 1573	Seville	Jud. Sev.	70		
Nov. 25, 1573	Seville	Jud. Sev.	60	...	2 victims burnt.
Dec. 14, 1574	Seville	Jud. Sev.	60	...	2 victims burnt.
1575	Murcia	Rodrigo			
1575	Seville	Jud. Sev.			
Jan. 8, 1576	Seville	Jud. Sev.	52	...	2 burnt.
June 24, 1576	Las Palmas	Rodrigo			
1576	Toledo	Archivo	...	...	Baez punished as judaizante.
Feb. 10, 1577	Seville	Jud. Sev.	72	...	2 burnt.
1577	Toledo	Archivo	...	...	Richard Bayley, in the service of the English Ambassador, punished for "Anglicanismo."
Feb. 9, 1578	Seville	Jud. Sev.	70		
1578	Toledo	Archivo	...	...	D'Agustín Montero Espinosa, punished for Judaizing.
May 3, 1579	Seville	Jud. Sev.	51	...	1, a "Flamenco" (native of Flanders), was burnt alive.
July 17, 1580	Seville	Jud. Sev.	61	...	1 burnt alive.
Mar. 12, 1581	Las Palmas	Rodrigo			
1581	Zaragoza	Rodrigo			
May, 1583	Seville	Jud. Sev.	87	...	7 burnt.
1583	Toledo	Archivo	...	...	Sherwin of Axminster (Auxmesta) a victim.
April 13, 1586	Seville	Jud. Sev.			
July 22, 1587	Las Palmas	Rodrigo			
June, 1589	Seville	Jud. Sev.	95	...	5 victims burnt alive.
May 1, 1591	Las Palmas	Rodrigo			
May 9, 1591	Zaragoza	Rel. Adler			
1592	Seville	Jud. Sev.			
Aug. 18, 1592	Zaragoza	Rel. Adler			
1592	Toledo	Archivo	...	...	A Scotch soldier, Alexander Hay, punished for Calvinism.
1593	Granada	Rodrigo			
1593	Las Palmas	Rodrigo			
1593	Logrono	Rodrigo			
1593	Seville	Jud. Sev.	...	...	This was a "particular" auto, at which a man was punished for giving false witness in the matter of some crime of Judaism.
1594-7	Las Palmas	Rodrigo			

<i>Date.</i>	<i>Place.</i>	<i>Source.</i>	<i>No. of "reos" punished.</i>	<i>No. of Jews punished.</i>	<i>Remarks.</i>
1596	Cordova	Col. Cord.			
1596	Toledo	Archivo	...	...	Clas Pentecoste condemned for Anglicanismo.
1598	Toledo	Archivo	...	...	Baltasar de Matos, a Judaizante.
1599	Toledo	Archivo	...	...	An Englishman, Cooque Ricardo (Richard Cook), condemned for Calvinism.
1608	Las Palmas	Rodrigo			
Nov. 7 and 8, 1610	Logrono	Rel. Adler	18	6	Of the 12 non-Jews 1 prisoner was a Lutheran and 1 a Mahometan. 2 were punished for perjury.
?	1610	Logrono			
Nov. 8, 1611	Logrono	Rodrigo			
1613	Toledo	Archivo	...	...	Ritel Butt, of London, a victim.
1613-6	Toledo	Jacobs			
1614	Las Palmas	Rodrigo			
June 2, 1615	Las Palmas	Rodrigo			
1620	Toledo	Archivo	...	...	Everart (Duarte), of Bristol, punished for Anglicanismo.
1620	Toledo	Archivo			
June 21, 1621	Madrid	Rodrigo			
Feb. 28, 1623	Seville	Jud. Sev. ex SevilleAuto, Nov. 27, 1625	...	...	Amongst those punished was a Moorish mulatto "for professing the law of Moses."
Nov. 30, 1624	Seville	Rodrigo	...	...	At this auto there were Jews, vide infra.
Dec. 2, 1625	Cordova	Sev. Jud. Col. Cord. Rel. Bodl. De Castro			
Dec. 14, 1625	Seville	Rodrigo	73	67	Manuel Lopez and 3 Jewesses "relaxed" and burnt alive.
1625	Toledo	Jud. Sev. Jacobs			
Dec. 21, 1627	Cordova	Col. Cord.	76	71	
July 2, 1628	Seville	Jud. Sev.	4	1 or 2	"Un renegado, un judio, un blasfemo y una vieja casada dos veces."
1630	Toledo	Archivo	...	...	Baez punished for "judaizante."

<i>Date.</i>	<i>Place.</i>	<i>Source.</i>	<i>No. of "reos" punished.</i>	<i>No. of Jews punished.</i>	<i>Remarks.</i>
1630	Cordova	Col. Cord.			
1630-2	Toledo	Jacobs			
1631	Seville	Jud. Sev.			
July 4, 1632	Madrid	Rel. Bodl. Kayserling Ein Feiertag			
		9			
1635	Logrono	Jacobs			
June 22, 1636	Valladolid	Rodrigo Llorente	...	...	28 Jews, of whom 10 were "relaxed."
1640	Cordova	Col. Cord.			
1641	Logrono	Jacobs			
1641	Toledo	Archivo	...	...	A Jew "Baez" punished.
1642	Toledo	Archivo	...	...	An English boy, John Els, 14 years old, punished.
1643	Seville	Jud. Sev.			
1643	Toledo	Archivo	...	...	Gervase Sutton, of Bristol, punished.
Aug. 2, 1644	Valladolid	GraetzX, note 6, De Castro, 227, 238	...	...	"Judas the believer" burnt alive. Spinoza refers to this auto, and is by some writers thought to have been an eye-witness, vide infra.
Aug. 9, 1644	Valladolid	De Castro 227, 238	...	...	Don Lope de Vera burnt alive.
Feb. 24, 1647	Cordova	Col. Cord.	17	12	
Mar. 29, 1648	Seville	Jud. Sev. and Rel. B. M.	44	29	1 Jew burnt alive, 20 burnt in effigy, 8 received other punishments. 4 Mahometans, 4 witches, 7 bigamies, and other crimes.
May 29, 1648	Seville	Rodrigo			
Jan. 1651	Toledo	Archivo	76	63	
1654	Avila	Rodrigo			
June 29, 1654	Cuenca	Graetz	...	...	57 Christian proselytes to Judaism punished, 10 of whom were burnt.
? 1654	Granada	Rodrigo			
Nov. 1654	Granada	Graetz	...	...	12 Marranos burnt to death.
Mar. 1655	Granada	Graetz	...	...	Marcos da Almeyda Bernal died at the stake.

<i>Date.</i>	<i>Place.</i>	<i>Source.</i>	<i>No. of "reos" punished.</i>	<i>No. of Jews punished.</i>	<i>Remarks.</i>
May 3, 1655	Cordova	Col. Cord. Rel. B. M. Graetz	88	78	7 Jews burnt alive, and Antonio Henriquez Gomez and Dr. de Orobio and 30 other Jews ¹ burnt in effigy. This was a very grand auto, vide infra.
1655	Las Palmas	Rodrigo			
1655	Toledo	Jacobs			
1656	Seville	Jud. Sev.			
Feb. 9, 1660	Cordova	Col. Cord.	14	13	
April 11, 1660	Seville	Jud. Sev.	...	80	Manuel Lopes Pimentel of Bayonne burnt for Judaizing.
1660	Toledo	Archivo			
April 13, 1660	Seville	Rel. Colum- bina			
1662	Toledo	Archivo	...	...	A priest, Fr. Pedro de la Concepcion alias Maldonado, "condenado por observante de la ley de Moisés atehista y blasfemo."
Feb. 24, 1662	Cordova	Col. Cord.	40	38	
May 6, 1663	Cordova	Col. Cord.	26	19	
May 30, 1665	Toledo	ex Granada, Rel. Adler			
June 29, 1665	Cordova	Col. Cord. and Rel. Adler	101	96	
1666	Toledo	Archivo	...	...	Among the victims is Ana Gomez Espinosa, a "Costurera Portuguesa" (a seamstress).
June 7, 1666	Cordova	Col. Cord.	24	23	
July 7, 1669	Granada	ex auto June 25, 1724			

¹ Abrahams in his *Jewish Life in the Middle Ages*, p. 363, thus describes this incident:—"Antonio Enriquez Gomez . . . this gallant soldier . . . composed some twenty-two comedies. . . Persecuted by the Inquisition, he fled to France, where he enjoyed the friendship of Richelieu . . . Finally he found a resting-place in the then home of freedom, Amsterdam, where he heard with grim satisfaction that he had been burnt in effigy at an auto de fé in Seville. This was in 1660. The poet died in the same year."

<i>Date.</i>	<i>Place.</i>	<i>Source.</i>	<i>No. of "reos" punished.</i>	<i>No. of Jews punished.</i>	<i>Remarks.</i>
1669	Cordova	Col. Cord.	15	13	One of the prisoners was punished as an "encubridor," or harbourer of Jews.
July 20, 1670	Cordova	Col. Cord.	23	21	
1672	Granada	Rel. Bodl. Rel. B.M.			
Dec. 21, 1679	Cordova	Col. Cord.	17		
June 30, 1680	Madrid	Olmo. Rel.			
Oct. 28, 1680	Madrid	Olmo. Rel.			Among the Jews punished was Antonio de Miranda.
Mar. 25, 1681	Cordova	Col. Cord.			
Aug. 24, 1681	Madrid	ex Granada auto, Jan. 31, 1723			
Nov. 30, 1682	Murcia	ex Granada auto, Jan. 31, 1723			
Sept. 29, 1684	Cordova	Col. Cord.			
1684	Granada	ex Cordova auto, April 12, 1722	
Feb. 21, 1685	Cordova	Col. Cord.			At this auto only one prisoner—a witch—seems to have been punished.
Dec. 21, 1685	Cordova	ex Nov. 30, 1725			
Mar. 22, 1686	Seville	Jud. Sev.	...	...
Feb. 13, 1689	Granada	ex June 25, 1247			A particular auto for abuse of the Confessional, vide infra.
July 10, 1689	Seville	Jud. Sev.	...	...
? 1689	Granada	ex Seville auto, Nov. 30, 1722	...	...
Mar. 3, 1691	Seville	Jud. Sev.	José Luis, Canon of San Salvador, punished, and his two books "prohibidos."
Mar. 11, 1691	Seville	Jud. Sev.	26		
June 30, 1691	Madrid	De Castro, 231			
1691	Toledo	ex Col. Cord. ex April 12, 1722			

<i>Date.</i>	<i>Place.</i>	<i>Source.</i>	<i>No. of "reos" punished.</i>	<i>No. of Jews punished.</i>	<i>Remarks.</i>
1691	Majorca	De Castro,	3 Jews burnt and 34 strangled. Auto at which figured Miguel del Aguila, painter and wizard.
Mar. 18, 1692	Seville	²³⁰ Jud. Sev.	...	...
1692	Granada	ex April 23,			
May 12, 1693	Cordova	¹⁷²⁴ Col. Cord.			6 women and 2 men.
1693	Madrid	ex April 12,			
1693	Madrid	¹⁷²² ex June 13,			
1693	Logrono	¹⁷²³ ex June 13,			
Dec. 21, 1694	Cordova	¹⁷²³ Col. Cord.			
1694	Madrid	ex Col. Cord.			
Mar. 13, 1695	Seville	ex Jan. 31,			
Dec. 18, 1695	Seville	¹⁷²³ Jud. Sev.	8	...	
June 12, 1696	Cordova	Col. Cord.			
Sept. 29, 1696	Granada	ex Jan. 31,			
Oct. 14, 1696	Seville	¹⁷²³ Jud. Sev.	Auto "of which particulars are lacking."
1697	Granada	ex Jan. 31,			
May 25, 1698	Cordova	¹⁷²³ Col. Cord. ex June 31,			
Dec. 21, 1698	Seville	¹⁷²³ ex Granada auto Jan. 31,			
May 24, 1699	Cordova	¹⁷²³ Col. Cord.			
Nov. 29, 1699	Valladolid	ex Rel. K.K. July 4, 1745	Miguel Gutierrez was one of the Jews punished for "delitos de Judaismo."
Feb. 14, 1700	Cordova	Col. Cord.			
1700	Seville	Jud. Sev.	Leonora de Alvarez, a Jewess, punished.
Mar. 19, 1701	Valladolid	ex Rel. K.K. Valladolid auto, June 13, 1745			
Oct. 23, 1701	Valladolid	ex Seville auto Nov. 30, 1725			

<i>Date.</i>	<i>Place.</i>	<i>Source.</i>	<i>No. of "reos" punished.</i>	<i>No. of Jews punished.</i>	<i>Remarks.</i>
Dec. 4, 1701	Murcia	ex K.K. auto			
1701	Cordova	Jan. 31, 1723 ex Col. Cord.			
1701	Cuenca	ex Col. Cord.			
Mar. 5, 1702	Seville	ex auto Jan. 31, 1723			
June 4, 1702	Cuenca	ex auto July 23, 1724			
Oct. 8, 1702	Cordova	Col. Cord.			
Oct. 28, 1703	Seville	Jud. Sev. De Castro, 235	...	...	The Jew D. Lopez Duro burnt, though he seems to have survived the ordeal. Among the other Judaizers punished was José Diaz Pimiento, vide infra.
1703	Granada	ex auto Cord. June 13, 1723			
Dec. 31, 1706	Valladolid	ex Rel. K.K. auto Val. June 13, 1745	...	...	Among the Jews punished for "delitos de Judaismo" was Garcia.
1708	Mallorca	ex auto July 2, 1724			
1709	Granada	ex auto Cord. June 13, 1723			
1716	Valladolid	ex auto Dec. 19, 1724			
Nov. 14, 1717	Granada	ex auto Jan. 31, 1723			
Dec. 15, 1717	Granada	ex auto Jan. 31, 1723			
April 4, 1718	Cordova	Col. Cord. and ex auto April 12, 1722	13	5	Of the non-Jews 6 were punished as Lutherans and 2 as bigamists.
June 29, 1718	Seville	Jud. Sev. and ex auto Dec. 14, 1721	...	...	Manuel de Espinosa a victim. He is referred to in the archives at Madrid.
? 1718	Seville	ex auto Sev. Nov. 20, 1722			
Feb. 12, 1719	Granada	ex auto June 15, 1724			
Aug. 6, 1719	Seville	Rodrigo			
Dec. 10, 1719	Seville	Rodrigo			
? 1720	Granada	Bodl. rel.			
1720	Las Palmas	Rodrigo			

<i>Date.</i>	<i>Place.</i>	<i>Source.</i>	<i>No. of "reos" punished.</i>	<i>No. of Jews punished.</i>	<i>Remarks.</i>
July 25, 1720	Granada	ex auto June 23, 1724			
Dec. 1720	Cuenca	ex auto July 23, 1724			
April 20, 1721	Cordova	Col. Cord.			
May 18, 1721	Madrid	Rel. B. M. Bodl. K. K. and Pala- mares	...	...	Among the Judaizantes punished was Maria Josepha, alias Elena, alias Margarita Henoch, a native of Breslau.
Nov. 3, 1721	Cuenca	Rel. B. M.			
Nov. 23, 1721	Seville	Rel. Bodl. and B. M.			
Nov. 30, 1721	Granada	Rel. B. M. Bodl. K. K. and Pala- mares.	60	58	These are all called "Hereges Judaizantes."
Dec. 14, 1721	Seville	Jud. Sev. Rel. B. M. K. K., Bodl. and Pal.	42	38	Among the Jews are Manuel de Espinosa, de la Pena, Andrade, and Leon.
Feb. 22, 1722	Madrid	Rel. K. K. Bodl. B. M. and Pal.	11	10	
Feb. 24, 1722	Seville	Jud. Sev. Rel. K. K. Bodl. B. M. and Pal.	13	11	
March 8, 1722	Valladolid	Rel. B. M. and Bodl.			
Mar. 15, 1722	Toledo	Rel. B. M. Bodl. and Pal.	32	32	
April 12, 1722	Cordova	Col. Cord. Rel. B. M. and Pal. Bodl. K. K. Cappa	14	14	
May 17, 1722	Murcia	Rel. Pal. B. M. K. K.	38	36	
May 30, 1722	Granada	Rel. B. M.			
May 31, 1722	Mallorca	Rel. Pal. and B. M.	5	0	
? June 19, 1722	Cuenca	Rel. Pal.	18	18	
June 29, 1722	Cuenca	Rel. B. M. K. K.			

<i>Date.</i>	<i>Place.</i>	<i>Source.</i>	<i>No. of "reos" punished.</i>	<i>No. of Jews punished.</i>	<i>Remarks.</i>
July 5, 1722	Seville	Rel. Pal. and B. M. K. K. and Jud. Sev.	48	43	
Aug. 24, 1722	Valladolid	Rel. Pal. and B. M.			
Oct. 11, 1722	Zaragoza	Rel. B. M.			
Oct. 18, 1722	Murcia	Rel. Pal. B. M. K. K.			
Oct. 25, 1722	Toledo	Rel. B. M.			
Sept. 21, 1722	Santiago	Rel. Pal.			
Nov. 22, 1722	Cuenca	Rel. Pal. B. M. K. K.			
Nov. 30, 1722	Seville	Jud. Sev. and Rel. Pal. B. M. and K. K.	47	42	4 Jews burnt and 38 "reconciled," 1 Calvinist, 1 bigamist, and 3 punished "por testigo falso en causa de matrimonio."
Nov. 30, 1722	Llerena	Rel. Pal. B. M. K. K.	19	17	
Jan. 31, 1723	Granada	Rel. Pal. B. M. K. K.	60	54	Among the Judaizers was Joseph de la Santissima Trinidad, a native of Tetuan.
Jan. 31, 1723	Barcelona	Rel. Pal. B. M. K. K.	60	54	12 Jews burnt alive, Marcos de Espinosa and 41 others "reconciled," 6 bigamies.
Feb. 21, 1723	Cuenca	Rel. Pal. B. M. K. K.			
Feb. 24, 1723	Valencia	Rel. Pal. B. M. K. K.			
Feb. 24, 1723	Toledo	Rel. Pal. B. M. K. K.			
May 13, 1723	Murcia	Rel. Pal. B. M. K. K.			
June 6, 1723	Seville	Rel. Pal. B. M. K. K.			
June 6, 1723	Valladolid	Jud. Sev. Rel. Pal. B. M. K. K.	34	31	2 Jews were burnt alive. Among the prisoners was the Nuevo-Cristiano, N. Nuñez, Alcalde Mayor of Zamora.

<i>Date.</i>	<i>Place.</i>	<i>Source.</i>	<i>No. of "reos" punished.</i>	<i>No. of Jews punished.</i>	<i>Remarks.</i>
June 6, 1723	Zaragoza	Rel. Pal. B. M. K. K.	3	1	
June 13, 1723	Cordova	Pal. B. M. Col. Cord.	26	23	
June 20, 1723	Granada	ex Col. Cord. Rel. Pal. B. M. K. K.	28	25	5 Jews and 1 non-Jew burnt, 2 burnt in effigy, 1 "restituido a la carcel," 15 Jews "reconciled," 3 other crimes.
July 26, 1723	Llerena	Rel. Pal. B. M. K. K.			
Aug. 10, 1723	Seville	Rel. Pal. and B. M.			
Oct. 24, 1723	Granada	Rel. Pal. B. M. K. K.	...	25	Among the "reos" Luis Phelipe de Espinosa (aged 55) of Almeria.
Oct. 28, 1723	Toledo	Rel. Pal. and K. K.			
Dec. 19, 1723	Granada	Rel. Pal. B. M. and K. K.	2	0	
Feb. 20, 1724	Madrid	Rel. Pal. B. M. and K. K.	21	20	6 Jews burnt in effigy, 3 Jews and a "Gitana" burnt alive.
Mar. 12, 1724	Valladolid	Rel. Pal. B. M. and K. K.	6	5	4 Jews burnt alive, remaining prisoner a bigamist.
April 2, 1724	Valencia	Rel. Pal. B. M. and K. K.	10	5	
April 23, 1724	Cordova	Rel. Pal. Col. Cord.	28	26	4 Jews burnt alive and 4 in effigy; 2 other crimes. The exhumed body of Maria Josefa Fernandez burnt.
June 11, 1724	Seville	Rel. Pal. B. M. K. K.	35	33	1 Jew burnt alive, 2 bigamies.
June 25, 1724	Granada	Rel. Pal. B. M. K. K.	40	39	5 Jews burnt alive and 16 in effigy, 1 bigamy.
July 2, 1724	Cordova	Rel. Pal. B. M. K. K. Col. Cord.	6	6	
July 2, 1724	Mallorca	Rel. Pal. and B. M.	3	0	
July 23, 1724	Cuenca	Rel. Pal. B. M.	8	8	

<i>Date.</i>	<i>Place.</i>	<i>Source.</i>	<i>No. of "reos" punished.</i>	<i>No. of Jews punished.</i>	<i>Remarks.</i>
Nov. 9, 1724	Santiago	Rel. Pal. B. M. K. K.	17	0	
Nov. 30, 1724	Murcia	Rel. Pal. B. M. K. K.	10	8	2 Jews burnt alive and one in effigy.
Dec. 21, 1724	Seville	Rel. Pal. B. M. K. K.	8	8	
Jan. 14, 1725	Cuenca	Rel. Pal. B. M. K. K.	9	9	2 Jews burnt alive and 6 in effigy.
Feb. 4, 1725	Llerena	Rel. Pal. B. M. K. K.	5	4	
Mar. 1, 1725	Toledo	Rel. B. M. K. K.			
Mar. 4, 1725	Cuenca	Rel. Pal. B. M. K. K.	1	1	
Mar. 5, 1725	Valladolid	Rel. Pal. B. M. K. K.	2	0	
May 13, 1725	Granada	Rel. Pal. B. M. K. K.	22	20	7 Jews burnt in effigy.
July 1, 1725	Toledo	Rel. Pal. and K. K.	8	5	1 Jew burnt alive.
July 1, 1725	Valencia	Rel. Pal. B. M. K. K.	18	2	
July 8, 1725	Valladolid	Rel. Pal. B. M. K. K.	8	5	N.B. Of the 3 not noted as Jews 2 were punished for false witness.
Aug. 24, 1725	Granada	Rel. Pal. B. M. K. K.	10	9	
Aug. 26, 1725	Llerena	Rel. Pal. B. M. K. K.	10	10	One of these Jews was a native of Bordeaux.
Sept. 9, 1725	Barcelona	Rel. Pal. B. M. K. K.	8	2	
Oct. 21, 1725	Murcia	Rel. Pal. B. M. K. K.	11	6	
Nov. 30, 1725	Seville	Rel. Pal. K. K.	14	10	3 Jews burnt alive, 3 "penitenciados por sospechos de judaismo."
Dec. 16, 1725	Granada	Rel. Pal. K. K.	12	10	1 Jew burnt alive, 2 false witnesses; among 3 who abjured was one De Castro, a native of Naples, "por sospechas de Herege Judayzante o Mahometano."
Mar. 31, 1726	Valladolid	Rel. Pal. K. K.	2	2	

<i>Date.</i>	<i>Place.</i>	<i>Source.</i>	<i>No. of "reos" punished.</i>	<i>No. of Jews punished.</i>	<i>Remarks.</i>
Mar. 31, 1726	Murcia	Rel. Pal. K. K.	6	6	
May 12, 1726	Cordova	Rel. Pal. and K. K. Col.	10	9	Two Jews were reconciled in effigy!
Aug. 18, 1726	Granada	Rel. Pal. K. K.	7	7	
Sept. 1, 1726	Barcelona	Rel. Pal. K. K.	3	1	1 Jew, Andrade of Lisbon, burnt alive, and an English Protestant, Benjamin Cogni of Derqueter (!), burnt in effigy.
Sept. 17, 1726	Valencia	Rel. Pal. K. K.	11	...	All the "reos" are called "hereges." ? Jews.
Jan. 26, 1727	Valladolid	Rel. Pal. K. K.	17	17	All were reconciled, including Carballo Cardoso, "fugitivo a Francia."
May 18, 1727	Granada	Rel. Pal.			
El dia gloriosissimo San Fernando, Rey de España	Valladolid	Rel. Pal.			
May 9, 1728	Granada	Rel. Pal. B. M.	51	1*	Only one is called a Judaizer. Of the rest 45 were "reconciliados por hereges Mahometanos." Among their very Jewish names we find Diaz Mendoza, Lara, Ximenes, Perez de Gurniel, Alvarez, and Aguilar.
May 9, 1728	Seville	Rel. Pal.			
May 15, 1728	Cordova	Rel. Pal. Col. Cord.	34	5*	Only 5 Judaizers, 29 called "Mahometanos," including Delgado, Enriques de Lara, and Rodriguez.
Oct. 10, 1728	Granada	Rel. Pal.			
May 8, 1729	Granada	Rel. Pal.			
1729	Logrono	Rodrigo			

<i>Date.</i>	<i>Place.</i>	<i>Source.</i>	<i>No. of "reos" punished.</i>	<i>No. of Jews punished.</i>	<i>Remarks.</i>
May 3, 1730	Cordova	Rel. Pal. Col. Cord.	15	14	
May 7, 1730	Santiago	Rel. Pal.			
May 14, 1730	Llerena	Rel. Pal.			
Dec. 17, 1730	Mallorca	Rel. Pal.			
Mar. 4, 1731	Granada	Rel. Pal.			
Mar. 4, 1731	Cordova	Rel. Pal. Col. Cord.	8	6	
Mar. 21, 1738	Toledo	Rel. K. K. (printed at Toledo)	...	12	Lucia Gonzales, a Jewess, aged 70, was burnt alive.
July 12, 1739	Seville	Jud. Sev.	...	...	A secret auto at which a lay brother was condemned to the galleys for 6 years for having celebrated mass.
1741					
June 13, 1745	Valladolid	Rel. B. M. Rel. K. K.	3	3	Luis de la Vega, a Jew, was burnt alive. The other two punished for "delitos de judaismo" were Gutierrez Garcia and Joseph Pereyra Cavalo.
July 4, 1745	Granada	Rel. K. K.	10	...	6 of the 10 were Mahometans.
Dec. 5, 1745	Cordova	Col. Cord.	9	2	
July 13, 1749	Cordova	Col. Cord.	...	1	A single victim, a heretic.
Nov. 22, 1753	Seville	Jud. Sev.	...	...	A secret auto of which D. José Grande was the hero.
Dec. 13, 1753	Seville	Jud. Sev.	...	...	Gregorio Jordan Caballero punished.
1756	Madrid	Rel. Bodl.			
1757	Seville	Rodrigo			
Dec. 1758	Seville	Jud. Sev.	...	...	D. Juan Placer punished.
Aug. 24, 1781	Seville	Jud. Sev.	...	...	A public auto at which a blind woman was the victim.
? 1781	Seville	Mocatta	...	...	A Jew burnt alive.
1799	Cordova	Col. Cord.	...	1	A single prisoner, a witch.
Aug. 11, 1799	Seville	Jud. Sev.	...	...	The hero of this auto was D. Domingo Fernandez Pinillos.

<i>Date.</i>	<i>Place.</i>	<i>Source.</i>	<i>No. of "reos" punished.</i>	<i>No. of Jews punished.</i>	<i>Remarks.</i>
Aug. 26, 1799	Seville	Jud. Sev. De Castro	...	...	Lorenzo Beltran, a Judaizer.
June 20, 1805	Seville	Jud. Sev.	...	...	A man punished "for denying various dogmas of the faith."
June 20, 1805 Feb. 22, 1813	Seville ...	Jud. Sev. Rodrigo, iii. 492	...	...	The Spanish Inquisition was suppressed by the Cortes.
July 21, 1814	...	Rodrigo, iii. 492	...	...	The Inquisition was re-instituted by Ferdinand VII.
Feb. 27, 1817	Seville	Jud. Sev. De Castro	...	...	Auto of D. Lorenzo Aillon for having improperly raised the Host.
Feb. 27, 1817 Mar. 9, 1820	Seville ...	Jud. Sev. Rodrigo	...	...	The Revolution (1820-3) again abolished the Inquisition.
1820 Oct. 1, 1823	Las Palmas ...	Rodrigo Rodrigo	...	...	The "Contrarevolucion" re-established the Holy office, and a period of reactionary rule ensued lasting till Ferdinand's death in 1833.
Aug. 1, 1826	Valencia	"Paris" of Aug. 2, 1882, Chambers' Encyclo- paedia, <i>sub</i> <i>voce</i> Inquisi- tion, Revue É. J. v. 155	...	...	1 Judaizer burnt alive, 1 Lutheran schoolmaster garrotted. A "témoin oculaire" describes how the "malheureux Israélite" was burnt and his cries drowned by the hymns of the bystanders.
July 15, 1834	...	Rodrigo, iii. 499	...	...	The Queen Regent Maria Cristina, mother of Isabella II, finally abolishes the Inquisition.

III.

TABLE OF AUTOS CELEBRATED OUTSIDE SPAIN.

<i>Date.</i>	<i>Place.</i>	<i>Source.</i>	<i>No. of "reos" punished.</i>	<i>No. of Jews punished.</i>	<i>Remarks.</i>
April 24, 1288	Troyes	Rev. Études Juives, ii. 199, and Memor-Buch of Mainz, &c.	13 Jews burnt, "jou-tisiés," viz. Isaac Chastelain and others.
1308 to 1323	Languedoc	Notice des MSS. de la Bib. Nat. ii. 4	637	...	The <i>Flores Chronicorum</i> tells of the zeal of the Inquisitor, Bernard Guidonis.
1399	Rome	Notice des MSS. de la Bib. Nat. vi. 87	The bones of a man who had been a French Saint for 13 years were exhumed and burnt as a heretic.
July 31, 1485 to 1592	Guadalupe	Boletin, xxiii. 283	Between these dates 52 Jews and Jewesses and one "monge herege" were burnt alive, 25 in effigy and 46 "difuntos" were exhumed and burnt, and 16 sentenced to perpetual imprisonment.
1549	Mexico	De Castro, 224	Probably a misprint for 1659.
? 1569	Mexico	De Castro, 228	...	...
1574	Mexico	Rodrigo	3 Jews burnt alive and 8 in effigy.
1592	Mexico	Rodrigo	...	...
1605	Lima	Puredura	...	...
1612	Goa	Silva	...	...
1612	Coimbra	Silva	...	...
1615	Evora	Silva	...	...
1616	Evora	Silva	...	...
1618	Coimbra	Silva	...	...
1618	Coimbra	Silva	...	...
1619	Coimbra	Silva	...	...
1619	Coimbra	Silva	...	...
1620	Coimbra	Silva	...	...

<i>Date.</i>	<i>Place.</i>	<i>Source.</i>	<i>No. of "reos" punished.</i>	<i>No. of Jews punished.</i>	<i>Remarks.</i>
1621	Lisbon	Silva			
1621	Coimbra	Silva			
1621	Evora	Silva			
1621	Goa	Silva			
1624	Lisbon	Silva			
1624	Evora	Silva			
1625	Coimbra	Silva			
1626	Evora	Silva			
1627	Lisbon	Silva			
1627	Evora	Silva			
1627	Coimbra	Silva			
1627	Goa	Silva			
1629	Lisbon	Silva			
1629	Evora	Silva			
1629	Coimbra	Silva			
1630	Evora	Silva			
1635	Goa	Silva			
1636	Evora	Silva			
1637	Lisbon	Silva			
1637	Evora	Silva			
1637	Coimbra	Silva			
1638	Lisbon	Silva			
1639	Lima	Rodrigo	...	...	63 Jews out of 72 ; "Judas the Believer" burnt alive.
1640	Lisbon	Silva			
1642	Lisbon	Silva			
1644	Evora	Silva			
1644	Goa	Silva			
1645	Lisbon	Silva			
1646	Mexico	Rel. Bodl.			
1647	Mexico	Rel. Bodl.			
1648	Mexico	Rel. Bodl.			
1649	Evora	Silva			
1649	Mexico	Rel. Bodl.			
1652	Geneva	ex Rel. Adler			
1652	Coimbra	ex Geddes			
Dec. 1, 1652	Lisbon	Graetz ex Rel. Adler	...	...	Villa Real statesman and poet burnt.
1654	Lisbon	Silva			
Nov. 19, 1659	Mexico	Rel. Adler Rel. Bodl. De Castro, 230			
? 1659	Mexico	De Castro			
No date (a)	Mexico	Rel. Bodl.			
,, (b)	Mexico	Rel. Bodl.			

<i>Date.</i>	<i>Place.</i>	<i>Source.</i>	<i>No. of "reos" punished.</i>	<i>No. of Jews punished.</i>	<i>Remarks.</i>
No date (c)	Mexico	Rel. Bodl.			
" (d)	Mexico	Rel. Bodl.			
1660	Lisbon	Silva			
1662	Evora	Silva			
1664	Lisbon	Silva			
1664	Evora	Silva			
1666	Lisbon	Silva			
1667	Coimbra	ex Madrid auto Feb. 20, 1724			
1670	Evora	Silva			
1672	Evora	Silva			
1672	Goa	Silva			
1673	Lisbon	Silva			
1673	Coimbra	Silva			
1676	Goa	L'Inquisition de Goa			
1682	Coimbra	Silva			
May 10, 1682	Lisbon	Rel. Colum- bina, Geddes			
1704	Lisbon	ex Seville auto, Nov. 30, 1722			
Sept. 6, 1705	Lisbon	Rel. Bodl.	...	...	A Manuscript "Lista das Pessoas" who were punished at this auto was sold in Amsterdam at the auction of the De Castro Library in May, 1899 (No. 570).
	Evora	ex Valencia auto, April 2, 1724			
1705	Lisbon	Silva			
1706	Coimbra	Silva			
1706	Lisbon	Silva			
1707	Lisbon	Silva			
1709	Lisbon	Rel. Bodl.			
1710	Evora	Silva			
1713	Lisbon	Silva			
1713	Coimbra	Silva			
October, 1714	Lisbon	Catalogue du Vente De Castro	...	...	This "Lista" was sold with that of Sept. 6, 1705, to a Baronne de Rothschild of Paris.

<i>Date.</i>	<i>Place.</i>	<i>Source.</i>	<i>No. of "reos" punished.</i>	<i>No. of Jews punished.</i>	<i>Remarks.</i>
1718	Lisbon	Silva			
1718	Coimbra	ex Cordova auto, April 12, 1722			
		ex Murcia auto, May 13, 1723			
1720	Lisbon	Silva			
1720	Coimbra	Silva			
Mar. 14, 1723	Coimbra	Rel. Pal. B. M. K. K.			
Oct. 10, 1723	Lisbon	Rel. Pal. B. M. K. K.			
1726	Coimbra	Silva			
1727	Coimbra	Silva			
1745	Lisbon	Rel. Bodl.			
1746	Lisbon	Silva			
1748	Lisbon	Silva			
1749	Lisbon	Silva			
1759	Lisbon	Cappa, 135			
1821	Lima	Cappa, 104			

IV.

AUTHORITIES.

Manuscript Authorities.

Autograph grant, by Ferdinand and Isabella, dated Cordova, Aug. 31, 1485, to the Real Monasterio de Sⁿ Geronymo, of one-third of the garden confiscated from Alphon de Baena of Cordova, "condenado á pena de fuego por el delito de la heretica pravedad." Signed, "Yo el Rey. Yo la Reyna." And sealed with the seal of "Fernandus et Helisabet." Vide Facsimile.

Juan Alfõn de Baena (circa 1450), a New Christian, born at Baena, Cordova, was a poet and anthologist, under Juan II, king of Castile. Vide De Castro, 265-345. Baena quotes seventy-one "Trobadores Españoles," including Francisco de Baena. And vide Jacobs.

Autograph grant, by Ferdinand and Isabella, dated Tortosa, March 24, 1496, to the Real Monasterio de Sⁿ Geronymo, of one-third of the garden confiscated from Fernando de Molina for the crime of heresy, the other two-thirds being already in possession of the monastery. Signed, "Yo el rey." "Yo la reyna."

Proceso de Juan Garcia que por otro nombre se llama Juan de Alvarado, natural de Mexico. Por Hereje y apostata. 1606.

Hidalguia. Informacion de Limpieza de Sangre of Juan Ortiz Moreno, Alcalde de la Villa de Vinaria.

A Familiar of the Inquisition proves that his ancestors are "Xrtianos viejos limpios sin traza ninguna de Moros, Judios," &c.

Orden y Forma de actuar los Comisarios y Notarios del Sancto Officio de la Inquisicion en informaciones que hacen de limpieza de sangre para ministros suyos. 1696.

Belonged to S^r Dⁿ Martin de Carrascal, Secretario de la Sancta Inquisicion de Sevilla.

Printed Authorities.

Archivo Historico-Nacional, Museo Archaeologico, Madrid, and its publication of that name, here cited as "Archivo."

(Sala VIII is full of the Inquisition Records of Toledo, Valencia, Rioja and Logrono.) See especially a bundle docketed "Indices de varios procesados por dicho delito Judaizantes, 1622-1725."

Lists are now being published in the Museo's Official Journal. They are valuable additions to our knowledge of the Marranos. 222 pages have appeared. The Catalogue of "Judaizantes" begins at page 158 and is still incomplete.

Anales de la Inquisicion: 200 adornos grabados y 32 litografias. Madrid, 1841.

Almosnino. Extremos y Grandezas de Constantinopla. Compuesto por Rabi Moysen Almosnino Hebreo. Traducido por Jacob Cansino, Madrid, Martinez, 1638.

Many references to Jews. Steinschneider suggests that this book was not translated from the Hebrew, but transliterated from Ladino (St. 1771). Almosnino died in Salonica about 1580.

Apuntamientos para la historia del rey D. Felipe II con Isabel de Inglaterra, 1558-1576, por D. Tomas Gonzales (? Madrid, 1850).

Auto de Fé; Auto general de Fé; Auto particular de Fé.

Every Auto de Fé, or Act of Faith, was conducted with supreme formality. Lists and Relaciones were published in almost every case, soon after the autos, and apparently eagerly purchased. Generally

they were printed in the place where the Act of Faith had been consummated. Most of the "Relacions" of the autos which occurred 1720-1725 were printed at Madrid, and Seville also, and perhaps elsewhere, by the printers to the respective Inquisitions. Such "Relacion" was frequently ordered to be sent to the Inquisitor General, and various Tribunals, so as to provide a check on persons reconciled and suspected of a tendency to relapse.

I. J. Serrete, the Madrid printer in 1720, appears to have bound up collections of Relations in pigskin covers, and copies of such collections are in the British Museum¹, Bodleian and Berlin Libraries, and one is in the possession of Mr. Palamares of Seville. Here they are cited as "Rel. B. M.," "Rel. Bodl.," "Rel. K. K.," and "Rel. Pal.," respectively.

For many years, however, the Holy Office shrank from publicity, and forbade others, and even historians, from giving details, "sin duda temerosos de alguna excomunion mayor" (*Jud. Sev.* 56). Hence the difficulty of ascertaining particulars about the numerous autos which took place, and the rarity nowadays, even in Spain, of these printed "Relacions." With the exception of the collections referred to, London, Berlin, and Oxford have hardly twenty such Relations altogether.

Vide Listas, Relacion, Matute, Olmo, Posadilla.

Auto General de la Fée . . . celebrado . . en . . Mexico, a los 19 de Noviembre de 1659 años. Mexico, 1659.

Auto General de la Fée . . . celebrado en Cordoba . . Lunes 29 Junio. Cordova, 1665, Andres Carrillo de Pantagua.

Beschryving van Spanien en Portugal. Leyden, Pieter van der Aa, 1707.

A magnificent folio of 400 pages with numerous fine engravings and maps, and an elaborate index. V. 23-37 deals with the Inquisition (5 plates).

Bibliographie des Martyrologes Protestants Néerlandais. I. Monographies; II. Recueils. Hague, Nyhoff, 1890.

Bleda. Defensio fidei in causa . . . Morischorum.

Boaventura, Fr. Fortunato de S.

The *Memorias da Academia real das Sciencias de Lisboa*, IX, 29, 1825, contain an article by Boaventura, entitled "Memoria sobre o começo progresso & decadencia da Litteratura Hebraica entre os Portuguezes

¹ The British Museum bought its copy within the last decade of a bookseller in the Hague. It is in two volumes and comprises the accounts of ninety Spanish and Portuguese autos.

Catholicos Romanos desde a fundação deste Reino até ao reinado d'El Rei D. Jose I."

Sr Alberto Carlos da Silva, sub-librarian of the Biblioteca Nacional at Lisbon, drew my attention to this work. Mr. Silva is himself a "nuevo cristiano," and a great authority on Spanish and Portuguese Judaica, and, by the way, a keen critic of Dr. Kayserling.

Boletin de la Real Academia de la Historia, Madrid.

The Transactions of the Royal Historical Academy at Madrid are indispensable to the student of the Spanish Jews. Vide Vols. XVI, XIX, XXII, XXIII, XXXVI. Father Fidel Fita and other authorities on Spanish Jewry are constant contributors.

Cappa, R. *La Inquisicion Española*, editor D. Gregorio del Amo. 8vo, pp. 299, Madrid (Antonio Perez Dubrull), 1888.

A vehement defence of the Inquisition by a Jesuit father, who regards the Jews as a "plaga nacional" of Spain, Drumont as an authority, the Blood accusation as well founded, the case of Rafael Levy in 1620 as evidence, Llorente as only famous for his exquisite impudence and erute cynicism, and Queen Elizabeth's persecution of Southwell as justification for "un tribunal tan poco conocido como ligeramente juzgado y condenado."

Castillo, Joaquin del. *El Tribunal de la Inquisicion llamado de la Fe o del Santo Oficio.* (Dos laminas.) Barcelona, 1835.

Castro, Joseph Rodriguez de. *Biblioteca Española*, vol. i. *Los Escritores Rabinos Españoles* (666 pp., fol., and preface and indexes). Madrid, *Gazeta*, 1781.

Castro, A. de. *History of the Jews in Spain.* Cadiz, 1847.

Translated into English by E. D. G. M. Kirwan, Cambridge, 1851.

Catalogue de Vente de feu M. D. Henriques de Castro. Amsterdam, May 1899.

The owner was descended from a family famous in Spain in the twelfth century. His collection was full of Spanish Judaica.

Conde, J. A. *Descripcion de España de Xerif Aledris (Edrisi).* Arabic and Spanish. Madrid, 1799.

Many Hebrew geographical references.

Corpus documentorum Inquisitionis her. prov. Neerlandicae. Dr. Paul Fredericq, Gent, 1889.

Discurso Historico-Legal sobre el origen &c. del S. O. de la Inquisicion de España. Valladolid, 1802.

Discusion del Proyecto del Decreto sobre el Tribunal de la Inquisicion. Cadiz, 1813, en la Imprenta Nacional.

Espinosa. Vide "Relacion Histórica de la Juderia de Sevilla"; Espinosa, *Historia de Gabriel de*.

Espinosa, Historia de Gabriel de. Pastelero en Madrigal que fingió ser el Rey don Sebastian de Portugal . . en 1595. Madrid, 1785.

A curious history of a royal impostor with a great name, though, by profession, pastrycook in Madrid.

Cardinal Diego de Espinosa was Inquisitor General from 1567 to 1572, and during his five years of office the Inquisition claimed, it is estimated, 4,680 victims, of whom 360 were burnt in effigy and 720 burnt alive.

El gran Piscator de Salamanca. Para este año de MDCCXLIII, Seville, Lopez de Haro, 1743.

An Almanac with a reference on p. 13 to *marranos* and containing in 14 pp. a printer's list of contemporary books "y otros libros curiosos, y todo surtimiento de Romances, Relaciones, Historias, Comedias, y Estampas, por mayor y por menor."

One of these is:—"Centinela contra Judios, 1 tomo en octavo."

Fama Postuma a la vida y muerte del Doctor Frey, Lope Felix de Vega Carpio, escritos por los mas esclarecidos ingenios solicitados por el Doctor Juan Perez de Montalvan. Madrid, 1636.

Among the authors who contribute to this elegiac miscellany there are several *Marranos*, e.g. Luis de Belmonte, Fernando Bermudez Carvajal, and others.

Féreal, De. *Misterios de la Inquisición, y otras sociedades secretas de España*. Translated into Spanish by D. Lucas Boado Brandaris. Buenos Aires, Bietti, 1890.

A publication of the Biblioteca Argentina, with some highly coloured pictures portraying the horrors of the inquisition.

Fergusson. Trial of Gabriel de Granada, *American Jewish Historical Society Transactions*, VIII.

This is a volume dedicated to a single trial. There were over 300,000 such, and about 750 autos de fé, between 1480 and 1812. Mr. Fergusson deserves well of the Jewish historian, for he has collected a unique mass of Mexican inquisition records, and places them unreservedly at the disposal of the American Jewish Historical Society.

Geddes, M. *Miscellaneous Tracts*, by Dr. Michael Geddes. London, 1702 and 1714. "A Spanish Protestant Martyrology."

Both editions are in the Berlin Königliche Bibliothek. Vide also Kohut. In the second edition there is an interesting account of the author's attempted conversion of a New Christian recently escaped to London from the Spanish Inquisition, who, however, declared that, for him, the only hope of salvation lay in Judaism.

Graetz. *Geschichte der Juden* (passim).

Historia de la Inquisicion en Canarias. 1874.

Frequently cited by Rodrigo.

Instruccion por Causas de Fé. (For the use of the Inquisitors.) 8vo, pp. 32, Seville.

Jacobs, Joseph. Sources of Spanish Jewish History. London, Macmillan, 1894. (Here cited as "Jacobs.")

A veritable *tour de force*, but confessedly limited to manuscript matter, and hardly touching the Marranos, a history of whom is, he says, "one of the great desiderata of Jewish literature."

The documents of 1,200 cases he describes as at Alcala de Henares have apparently been removed to the Museo Archaeologico at Madrid, where I saw them in November, 1900. Use of the material there would enable my list of autos to be greatly extended. Vide Archivo.

Kayserling, M.

(1) Biblioteca Española-Portuguesa-Judaica. Strasbourg, Teubner, 1890.

(2) Ein Feiertag in Madrid. Berlin, Springer, 1859. Vide sub Olmo.

Kohut. Jewish Martyrs of the Inquisition in South America.

(1) American Jewish Historical Society, Transactions, IV, 171.

(2) Reprint. Baltimore, Friedenwald, 1895.

Dr. Kohut's clever little paper would have been more complete if he had made use of Medina's various histories of the South American Inquisitions. In one passage he commits a strange blunder, due to too keen a sense of antisemitism. At an auto, he says, there were "four others punished for various offences (bigamy). It is probable that these were Jews or Marranos"!! Bigamy was an ecclesiastical crime within the purview of the Holy Office, and "Casados dos vezes" are punished at very many autos de fé.

Lea, H. C. History of the Inquisition in the Middle Ages. 1888, 3 vols. Chapters from the Religious History of Spain connected with the Inquisition. Philadelphia, 1890.

Histoire de l'Inquisition au moyen âge. Traduit par Salomon Reinach. Paris, 1900.

Lea is *the* historian of the Inquisition *par excellence*, but he has hardly done justice to the auto de fé in Spain. He is described by a German authority as a merchant in Philadelphia who has become Doctor *honoris causâ* and Member of the Academy at Munich as "Palaeograph, Diplomatiker, Kanonist und Kirchenhistoriker."

Listas dos Autos de Fé . . . em (1) Lisboa, (2) Evora, (3) Coimbra.

The Biblioteca Nacional at Lisbon possesses three stout volumes containing a collection of Lists, Programmes, and Relations of the

various autos celebrated by the three Portuguese Tribunals of the Inquisition at Lisbon, Evora, and Coimbra.

Many of the pieces are in manuscript, but most are printed. With their aid a fairly complete list of Portuguese autos could be completed. Vide Auto de Fé.

Three similar volumes are said to be in the Evora Library.

Llorente, J. A.

(1) *Memoria Historica . . . opinion nacional de España acerca del Tribunal de la Inquisicion.* Madrid, 1812.

(2) *Historia Critica de la Inquisicion de España.* 10 vols., 12mo. Barcelona, 1836.

Do., do., vol. V.

Llorente is recognized as the authority on the subject by Lea and all the modern historians of the Holy Office. He lived in the midst of the excitement culminating in the Constitution of Cadiz in 1812, and the first suppression of the Inquisition. His vehemence is undoubted, but his facts have never been seriously impugned.

Manrique, Cayetano. *Apuntes para la vida de Felipe II y para la historia del Santo Oficio en España.* Madrid, 1868.

Marchena, J. *Manual de Inquisidores* (traducida del Frances). Mompeller, 1821.

Martínez, Emilio. *Recuerdos de Antaño.* Valparaiso, 1898.

A story of the Inquisition founded, more or less, on Prescott's History of Philip II. The author appears to be a Chilean Protestant.

Matute. *Coleccion de Autos de Fé celebrados en Córdoba.* Cordoba, Canalejas, 1836.

Anotados por G. Matute i Luquin. (Here cited as "Col. Cord.")

Medina, J. T.

(1) *Historia de la Inquisicion de Lima.* 2 vols. 1887.

(2) " " " en Chile. 2 vols. 1890.

(3) " " " del Plata. 1 vol. 1900.

(4) " " " de Cartagena. 1 vol. 1899.
de las Indias.

(5) " " " en las Islas Filipinas. 1 vol. 1899.

(All printed in Santiago de Chili.)

These books are invaluable for the historian of Spanish America. The author is an indefatigable and accurate author. These are but a few of his works.

His books on Lima and Cartagena contain lists of some hundreds of persons proceeded against by the Holy Office. Among the twelve pages of names in the Peruvian volume I counted eleven Espinosas, among the ten of Cartagena there was one Miguel de Espinosa punished in 1624.

Mocatta, F. D. *The Jews of Spain and Portugal and the Inquisition.* London, Longmans, 1877.

Montan, R. G. *De Heylighe Spaensche inquisitie.* Translated from the Latin into Dutch by M. Maulumpertus Taphaea. Printed in London by Jan Day, 1569.

A black-letter book excessively rare, like the other Flemish books printed in London at this time. It is full of references to Protestant martyrdoms in Spain, including that of a God-fearing Englishman "Nicholas Burton."

Olmo, Joseph del.

(1) *Relacion Historica de Auto General de Fee que se celebró en Madrid este Año de 1680 con asistencia del Rey . . .*

Small 4to, with an engraved as well as a letterpress title, with a large folding plate of the scene. Madrid, 1680.

(2) Another edition. 8vo. Madrid, 1820, imprenta de Cano.

(3) Another edition. 12mo. Madrid, 1820, imprenta de Del Collado, pp. 205 + xvi.

(4) Kayserling's "Feiertag in Madrid" is an abstract of this *Relacion*.

Pereira, Gabriel. *Biblioteca Nacional de Lisboa.* 14 pp., 8vo. Lisbon, Dia, 1898.

S^r Pereira is the chief librarian of the collections he describes, and a *Nuevo Cristiano*.

Posadilla, G. de.

Auto de Fe . . . en la ciudad de Logrõno . . 7 & 8 . . Noviembre . . 1610 . . . por el Bachiller Gines de Posadilla. Cadiz, 1812.

Another edition of the same work. Madrid, Collado, 1820.

Logrõno is in Navarre, near the Pyrenees, and affected by the superstitions of the French mountaineers. Lourdes is not very far from it.

Relação exactissima . . . do procedimento das Inquisições de Portugal, apresentada ao papa Innocencio XI pelo P. Antonio Vieira da companhia de Jesus. Tirada pela experiencia do que passon na de Coimbra, em tres annos . . . , Veneza Moretin, 1750.

Relacion de las causas mas notables que siguio el Tribunal de la Inquisicion contra . . brujos, hechiceros, &c. Sevilla, 1849.

The collection includes some famous trials of the Jew Bishops of Toledo and Calahorra, and of Antonio Perez, &c.

Relacion de los reos que salieron en el auto (particular general) de Fé que el Santo Oficio celebró en la Iglesia de . . . el (Domingo) . . . de este presente Mes de . . .

This is the usual title of the *Relacions* containing the official

account of an Auto de Fé. It may be assumed that each of the autos specified in the foregoing list had such a Relacion published at the time, and perhaps in several editions. But they are now excessively rare, and fetch fifty to one hundred pesetas each in Spain. Vide Auto de Fé.

Relacion Histórica de la Juderia de Sevilla y Coleccion de los autos que llamaban de fé . . Biblioteca Sevillana. Gomez, Sevilla, 1849.

Por D. F. M. M. de E. (Espinosa).

Another edition. Franco, Sevilla, 1849.

This book is referred to in this article as *Jud. Sev.*

N.B. The librarian of the Biblioteca Columbina at Seville told me that the author was Don José Maria Montero de Espinosa.

Relation de l'Inquisition de Goa. Paris, Daniel Horthemels, 1688.

A Dutch translation of the above entitled "Aanmerkelijk Historisch Verhaal van de Inquisitie der Portugeesen in Goa." Middelburg, Gillis Horthemels, 1688.

Many references to the "Juifs Convertis" or "Cristans Novos." With curious plates of the autó da fé and its victims.

Remedios, R. J. Mendes dos. Os Judeus em Portugal. 8vo, pp. 455. Coimbra, 1895.

An admirable sketch of the Jews in Portugal till their expulsion by Royal Decree of July 15, 1508; perhaps a little doctrinaire, especially as to his anthropological data in the Introduction, which occupies sixty pages. His Bibliography contains new matter, and is suggestive. It is given here in an abbreviated form.

Rios, José Amador de los. Estudios históricos, políticos y literarios sobre los Judios de España. Madrid, 1848.

Rodrigo, F. J. G. Historia Verdadera de la Inquisicion. 3 vols., 8vo. Madrid, Fuentenebro, 1877. (Cited as *Rodrigo*.)

This remarkable modern (!) work in 1,551 pages is an elaborate defence of the Inquisition as justified by "las ofensas contra la moral, y misterios de nuestra santa Religion, cometidos por moros y judios, y la constante seduccion que todos empleaban para separar de las creencias catolicas á hombres depravados ó ignorantes" (II, 125). He constantly attacks Llorente, and twits him with inability to specify autos. He minimizes their horrors, and is complacent when he can say so and so many were burnt in effigy, but only one was actually burnt alive. Still a glance at our list will show that Rodrigo supplies data of autos otherwise unknown. His views are combated and refuted by Ramon Santa Maria in the Boletin XXII and by P. Fidel Fita in XXIII.

Sanz, Manoel. Tratado breve contra la secta Mahometana . . . con otros dos Dialogos . . . contra qualesquiera Sectes de Infieles, y particularmente contra la de los Judios y Hereges. Sevilla, 1693.

Silva. Dicionario Bibliographico Portuguez, by I. F. da Silva, Lisboa, 1858, with supplementary volumes the first of which appeared in 1867.

This is an admirable Bibliography of Portuguese books. Under the heading "Autos da Fé" in the first volume of the Supplement he says: "A collecao completa dos sermones pregados n'estas terriveis solemnidades," i.e. a collection of sermons preached at various Portuguese autos, of which he proceeds to give a list as "specimen do curiosidade." The Dictionary is here cited as "Silva." It is of course full of references to Jews. Among the works quoted by him and dealing with our subject is "Um Auto da Fé" by J. C. Ayres de Campos, an article which appeared in the *Instituto*, vol. XI, 240-6.

Vollmöller. Kritischer Jahresbericht über die Fortschritte der romanischen Philologie. Vol. IV, Heft 3, p. 180, contains a Bibliography of recent books and articles on the Inquisition.

V.

THE BIBLIOGRAPHY OF J. MENDES DOS REMEDIOS.

Aboab (Immanuel). Nomologia o discursos legales. Compuestos por el virtuoso H. H. Imanuel Aboab, D.G.M. Segunda edicion. Coregida y emendada por Raby, Dr. Ischak Lopes, en Amsterdam, Aº. 5487.

Arrais (Amador). Dialogos. Coimbra, 1589.

Amaral (A. Caetano do). Memorias para a historia da legislação e costumes de Portugal nas "Memorias de litteratura da Academia real das sciencias de Lisboa." t. vi.

— Id., ib., vii.

Acenheiro (Christovão Rodrigues). Chronicas dos Senhores Reis de Portugal na "Collecção de Ineditos da Historia Portuguesa publicados pela Academia real das sciencias de Lisboa." t. v. Lisboa, 1824.

Aguirre. Collectio maxima Conciliorum Hispaniae, cura et studio Josephi Saenz de Aguirre, Cardinalis Romae, 1753.

Barros (H. da Gama). História da administração publica em Portugal nos seculos XII a XV. t. Iº. Lisboa, 1885.

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